1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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to the husband of the pregnant woman. We carefully say "the husband of the pregnant woman" rather than "the father of the child" because the right resided in the male head of the household at the time of the birth. Although he was ordinarily both the father of the child and the husband of its mother, there were naturally occasions when a child was born after the death of its father, in which case the right of betrothal unquestionably belonged to the mother's new husband. The clearest statement of this rule is to say that the right of betrothal of all newly born females resided in the husband of the mother at the time of the girl's birth. "He who named the child bestowed it."

In most human societies the proportion of males and females in the population is approximately equal, except in the older age-groups where women predominate owing to their tendency to live longer than men. The Tiwi conformed to this norm biologically, but their cultural insistence that all females of every age be married resulted in further unusual features of the domestic situation. No such compulsory marriage was required or expected of males. Hence, the total female population, but only part of the male population, was married. Mathematically this permitted, indeed required, a high degree of plural marriage. The men who held the right to betroth—namely, the fathers of the female babies—could, within certain limits imposed by the kinship system, bestow their about-to-be-born or newly born daughters where they wished, and they certainly did not bestow them on about-to-be-born or newly born males. On the contrary, they bestowed them, generally speaking, where some tangible return was to be anticipated. Put bluntly, in Tiwi culture daughters were an asset to their father, and he invested these assets in his own welfare. He therefore bestowed his newly born daughter on a friend or an ally, or on somebody he wanted as a friend or an ally. Such a person was apt to be a man near his own age or at least an adult man, and hence perhaps forty years or so older than the newly born baby bestowed upon him as a wife. Or, the father might bestow an infant daughter on a man—or some close relative of such a man—who had already bestowed an infant daughter upon him, thus in effect swapping infant daughters. Obviously, the fathers who did the swapping, even if they were not quite the same age themselves, were bound to be many years older than the infant wives they thus received from each other. Or, thirdly, a father looking for a suitable male upon whom to bestow his infant daughter's hand might decide to use her as old-age insurance—in which case he selected as her future husband not one of the older adult men who would be old when he himself was old, but a likely looking youngster "with promise"; that is, a youth in his late twenties or thirties who showed signs of being a good hunter and a good fighting man, and who was clearly on his way up in tribal power and influence. Such a youth, in his late twenties at the time of betrothal, would, with luck, be in his prime as "a big man" in about twenty years—a time when the father of the infant daughter would be getting old and decrepit and much in need of an influential son-in-law who was obligated to him.

There were other bases upon which infant daughters were betrothed,

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and indeed the father was seldom an entirely free agent, since he not only had to make his choices for his daughters within the limits imposed by the kinship system, but he was also caught in an intricate network of previous commitments, residual interests, and contingent promises made by other men who had had some prior interest in the baby or the mother of the baby. To mention only the most common limiting situation of this sort, the mother of the baby might have been given to him in the first place on the understanding that when she grew up and had a female baby it was to be bestowed on so-and-so or even returned as a *quid pro quo* to its mother's father, either as wife or as ward.

We have oversimplified the situation, but it should be clear that Tiwi fathers, in an overwhelming number of cases, bestowed their infant daughters on husbands a great deal older than those daughters. It is hard to strike an average, but the overall situation is best expressed by saying that no Tiwi father, except in the most unusual cases, ever thought of bestowing an infant daughter upon any male below the age of at least twenty-five. Taking this lowest limit for illustration, this meant that a youth of twenty-five had his first wife betrothed or promised to him at that age but had to wait another fourteen years or so before she was old enough to leave her father's household and take up residence and marriage duties with him. By this time he was about forty and she was fourteen. An age gap between husband and wife at least as great as this, but usually greater, was a necessary and constant result of the Tiwi betrothal system.

No Tiwi young man, then, could expect to obtain his first resident wife through betrothal until he was well into his thirties, at which time this first resident wife would be around fourteen, having been betrothed to him at her birth or before. But it was likely that his first wife's father, who spotted him in his twenties as a "comer," was not the only older man to want him as a son-in-law. As in our own culture, where the first million is the hardest to make, so in Tiwi the first bestowed wife was the hardest to get. If some shrewd father with a daughter to invest in a twenty-year-old decided to invest her in you, his judgment was likely to attract other fathers to make a similar investment. As a result, for *some* Tiwi men, the arrival in residence of the first wife, an event for which they had to wait until their late thirties, was quickly followed by the arrival in residence of a second, third, and fourth (at least), all of them bestowed very shortly after the bestowal of the first. Thus a successful Tiwi, having had no resident wife at all until his late thirties, would accumulate perhaps half a dozen between his late thirties and his late forties as his various betrothed wives reached the age of puberty and joined his household, and from then on he was practically certain to accumulate still more wives as later bestowals grew up and as he was able to invest the daughters borne by his first crop of young wives in transactions which brought in a later crop.

That this is not an exaggerated or overdrawn picture of the number of wives that could be accumulated in the course of a long life by a successful

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Tiwi household head is shown by the genealogies of the grandfathers of the present generation. Turimpi, who was born in the 1830's and died in the early 1900's, was at his death the most powerful old man among the Tiklauila. Some of his sons are still alive, and all of them were in the prime of life around 1930.[4] A complete list of Turimpi's wives, not all of them living in his household at the same time or necessarily alive at the same time, contains more than twenty names. But Turimpi was outshone in this regard by several of his contemporaries in other bands. A prominent Turupula of the same generation had a list of twenty-five; the father of Finger of the Wilrangwila had twenty-nine; the father of Tamboo and Puti had twenty-two. As late as 1930, men with lists of ten, eleven, and twelve wives were still plentiful, and Tu'untalumi, who was aged about seventy in that year and was a man of great influence, had by then accumulated no less than twenty-one.[5]

Such numbers of wives as these per husband are very much higher than usually prevail even among the most polygynous hunting tribes. Obviously, a domestic unit with twelve or more wives in it makes for a very large household. Among the Tiwi, a household even of such men as those just named did not contain all these wives at the same time, mainly because of the very great variation in the ages of a man's wives. As far as bestowed or betrothed wives were concerned, such wives arrived at their husband's household to take up wifely duties therein when they reached the age of about fourteen. Hence the first of them to arrive (typically when their husband was nearly forty) would be women of nearly forty by the time the latest of them arrived (typically when the husband was well into his sixties). Even when the husband died, let us say at the ripe old age of seventy-five, there would probably be some of his bestowed wives still under the age of fourteen who were as yet too young to join his household. Tu'untalumi, the man of twenty-one wives, was already about seventy in 1930, yet in his list of twenty-one wives five were still *al7inga*—that is, little girls not yet approaching puberty—and two were still babies at their mothers' breast. On the other hand, some of his earliest bestowed wives, who had taken up residence with him when he was in his late thirties, were already dead.

Because of this wide variation in the ages of a man's wives, it is necessary to distinguish between a "list" of a man's wives and those actually in residence in his household at any given time. The resident or active wives—one might almost say the working wives—were always fewer than the listed wives. This would necessarily be so even if marriage by betrothal were the only way by which a Tiwi man could obtain a wife. But while it was the most prestigeful form of marriage and the only respectable way in which a man could obtain a *young* wife, there were other ways of setting up a household

[4] See Hart 1934.

[5] Finger, Tamboo, and Puti were elders prominent in tribal affairs at the time of Hart's fieldwork. Puti was still alive in 1953-54 and well known to Pilling. Tu'untalumi, held in great affection by Hart, but anathema to the Mission Station, died in 1935.

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As mechanisms validating the success of fathers' rights

against clan rights there existed two rules: he who bestowed the name had the right to dispose in marriage; and all names given by a woman's previous husband were cancelled by his death and a new set of names given to all her children by her new husband. Strictly and universally enforced, such rules would put *all* control over the marriages of *all* women, of every age, in the hands of their mother's husbands—that is, men from outside the clan of the women being disposed of, in other words, fathers in the Tiwi sense. But the Tiwi system failed to achieve such a result though their rules are pointed toward it. They achieved something close to it as far as infant or even young girls were concerned, since the fellow clansmen of such girls were either (as brothers) too young and unimportant to have any power to resist this alien control over their sisters' hands, or (as mothers' brothers and hence older men) too involved and absorbed in their own activities *as fathers* to take any position asserting clan rights as against fathers' rights. To be successful in tribal life, an ambitious young Tiwi male was best advised to forget his mother and his sisters' daughters (all members of his clan) and concentrate on getting wives for himself. Only by getting wives could he have daughters, and only by having daughters could he build alliances and obtain influence, power, and more wives. To get wives for himself, he could not use his mother or his sisters or his sisters' daughters, since their disposal was in the hands of the men who had named them—that is, their fathers. But there came a time in the life of an older man when his mother was old, and *her* mother was dead, and therefore the rights of the last man to name his mother had lapsed. And a similar situation would arise in the case of his sisters when their mother's last husband died. By this age, a man so situated was likely to be powerful enough and skilled enough in the rules of the game to exert some control over the late remarriages of his elderly sisters and even of his mother, were she still alive. Whenever this occurred, although the resulting situation might have the superficial appearance of clan solidarity—with sons, mothers, brothers, and sisters all acting and planning together as a partnership—such a surface appearance was illusory. The motivations involved in it were scarcely altruistic desires on the part of the brothers to look after their mothers and elderly sisters, but rather efforts by the brothers to use to advantage, in their intricate political schemes, some women of their own clan (their mothers and elderly sisters). Earlier in life these men had been prevented from such manipulation by the control over those women exercised by nonclansmen (their husbands or fathers) through the naming rules. Put another way, we might say that Tiwi men as a group had acquiesced to the system wherein "the father" had control over all marriages of his "daughters," because every Tiwi man hoped to be a "father" himself; but having acquiesced, every Tiwi male tried to beat the system, especially as he became older and more influential, by intriguing in the remarriages of his mother and elderly sisters—matters in which, according to the strict letter of the law, he had no right to interfere, since bestowal rights resided with the "father" or "fathers" of those women. One factor which greatly contributed to the setting aside of the rights involved in the naming system was the fact that since, on the whole, old men married young women

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and young men married old women, in many cases the nominal "father" of an elderly woman was very much younger and less influential than were her brothers, or her sons by an earlier husband. The brothers and/or sons, therefore, were able to override the wishes of their sisters' nominal father since the seniority system was on their side in such contests, even though the renaming rules were not.

Although it was very rare indeed for any Tiwi male to have a resident young wife until he was nearly forty, long before that age he was likely to acquire an ancient widow or two. In at least ninety out of every hundred cases a man's first resident wife was a widow very much older than himself. According to a complete genealogical census carried out in 1928-29, nearly every man in the tribe in the age group from thirty-two to thirty-seven was married to an elderly widow. Many of them had two elderly widows and a few had three. But very few of them, and certainly not more than one out of five of them, had a resident *young* wife. About half of them had bestowed wives, but these were mostly toddling infants who would not come into residence with them for another ten years or more. Even for the most promising and rapidly rising young man, the first young bestowed wife was not likely to arrive until several years after his marriage to a widow.

To get a start in life as a household head and thus to get his foot on the first rung of the prestige ladder, a Tiwi man in his thirties had first of all to get himself married to an elderly widow, preferably one with married daughters. This was the beginning of his career as a responsible adult. The widow did several things for him. She became his food provider and housekeeper. She served as a link to ally him with her sons. As her husband, he acquired some rights in the future remarriages of her daughters when they became widowed. And she, as the first resident wife in his household, stood ready to be the teacher, trainer, and guardian of his young bestowed wives when they began to join him after they reached puberty.

Levirate, Sororate, and Cross-Cousin Marriage

We have emphasized infant bestowal and widow remarriage because it was the elaborate development of these two matrimonial mechanisms that brought about the unusual, perhaps unique, character of the Tiwi household. Other matrimonial mechanisms, more usual in preliterate societies, were also used by the Tiwi but always in combination with or as minor adjuncts to the two basic mechanisms. Thus, a man often remarried his dead brother's wives, or at least some of them, within the institution of widow remarriage. Such a practice is known to anthropologists as the levirate, and tribes are said "to have" the levirate or "not to have" it. The Tiwi, with their pluralistic approach to the whole area of marriage relationships, can hardly be said to fall into either category. To them, every widow had to remarry and among the many possible candidates for her, the brothers of the dead husband were recognised as having a reasonable, but far from automatic, claim. Whether the brothers

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jointly, or any one of them singly, were able to translate that claim into marriage depended on the other claims. Brotherhood in itself gave no exclusive right to widows, but of course a brother, being necessarily of the same clan and frequently of the same band as the deceased husband, was well in line to assert a claim to the widow if he could make the claim good. Cursory inspection of the genealogies reveals, however, a surprisingly small number of cases of men taking over the widows of their deceased brothers. At best it was a very minor factor in Tiwi marriage customs.

The parallel custom of the sororate—that is, of sisters being married to the same husband—was more common. It occurred both in connection with infant bestowal, by a father promising *all* his daughters by a particular wife to the same husband, or in connection with widow remarriage, whereby two or more full sisters, previously married to the same husband, passed together on his death to the same new husband. The sororate occurred more frequently in the first form than in the second, largely because, as already mentioned, widows had more say in their own marriages than baby girls had, but there was nothing obligatory nor required about it, as is shown by the frequent cases in which a father bestowed all his daughters by one wife on the same man but on the early death of that man rebestowed them *seriatim* on several different husbands. One got the impression, though no Tiwi ever made the point explicit, that within the Tiwi bestowal system the prevailing high rate of infantile and child mortality was an important factor in sustaining the sororate principle to the extent that it did exist. A father who bestowed upon a man the first daughter borne by a certain wife was almost obliged to bestow upon the same man the second daughter of the same wife if the first one died in infancy. Moreover, since most fathers bestowed their daughters with an eye to their own advantage, it was clearly desirable if he wanted to cement the goodwill of a prospective son-in-law, to promise him *all* the daughters produced by a certain wife, so that even though most of them died in infancy, at least one or two would be delivered in good condition at the age of puberty. The aim of bestowal was to win friends and influence people, and a bestowal of a child who died before she reached the son-in-law did a father little good. A shrewd father could avoid this risk by following the sororate principle; a stupid or feckless father who scattered his daughters widely could well end up with as many disappointed sons-in-law as friendly ones, as the infantile and child mortality took its heavy toll of his young daughters. In the genealogies, sororate marriages in some form occur much more frequently than levirate marriages, but nonetheless their incidence is such as to indicate that they were a relatively minor feature in Tiwi marriages and that their occurrence was most frequently due to careful fathers trying to insure sons-in-law against disappointment, and themselves against charges of nondelivery.

No account of marriage in any Australian tribe can go very far without raising the difficult matter of the kinship system, since all the accounts we have of mainland Australian tribes tell us that all marriages there took place within a rigid kinship framework which required everybody to marry somebody who was automatically his or her cross-cousin (for example, a man and a daughter

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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of his mother's brother).[10] Enough has been said already to indicate that in Tiwi marriage nothing was automatic. Females were given in marriage by their fathers, or (to a lesser extent) by their brothers, or (to a still lesser extent) by their sons. But fathers died and were succeeded by the men their widows remarried, and these men renamed all the widow's children, and by renaming them established some rights to make marriage decisions for the females. Therefore, cross-cousin marriage in Tiwi was merely part of the total system of marriage and had to adjust itself to the rest of the system. In theory, fathers could only bestow their infant daughters on men who stood to them in the relation of sisters' sons. Conversely, every man who received a bestowed wife received her from a man who was technically his mother's brother and of course the girl's father. To this extent the Tiwi were a tribe who practiced cross-cousin marriage and their kinship system belonged to one of the commonest Australian types, that which Radcliffe-Brown called Type I, having investigated it among the mainland tribe called the Kariera.[11] But a kinship system of the Kariera type could not accommodate all the complexities that had been introduced into Tiwi life by the emphasis on infant bestowal and widow remarriage. In particular, the generations kept getting badly mixed up, as for instance in the very common case of old men bestowing their infant daughters on other old men of their own age group, and in return receiving as infant wives (or wards) daughters of those old men. With this happening constantly, it was difficult to maintain the kinship principle that recipients of wives were always sons of the donor's sister and donors were always brothers of the recipient's mother. Which was mother's brother and which was sister's son in the case of two old men busily swapping daughters was a problem that put a severe strain on a Kariera-type kinship system. And widow remarriage introduced further complexities. We have already mentioned the case of two young men, Antonio and Dominico, who through a judicious use of widow-remarriage had ended up married to each other's elderly mothers. This was no isolated case; many pairs of men of like age were married to each other's mothers. Who called whom "father" and who called whom "son" became an insoluble riddle in such cases.

To avoid further involvement in the labyrinthine complexities of Australian kinship organization, all that we need say here is that the Tiwi had unscrambled the potential confusion introduced into their kinship categories by inventing a few new terms which, superimposed upon their Kariera-type system, kept everything straight. In Kariera, and generally among all the mainland tribes, no kinship distinction was made between potential wife and actual wife or between potential "in-laws" and actual "in-laws." A Kariera male called all the girls who were eligible for marriage to him by the same term (*Nuba*, usually translated mother's brother's daughter); all the fathers of such girls

[10] The definitive work on Australian kinship systems is Radcliffe-Brown 1930-31, and there is a large technical literature on the subject. See also Elkin 1951; Berndt 1955 and 1957; Murdock 1949.

[11] See Radcliffe-Brown 1913.

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by the same term (*Kaga*, usually translated as mother's brother); and all the mothers of such girls by the same term (*Toa*, usually translated father's sister or mother's brother's wife). When he married one of these girls he still called her *Nuba*, he still called his wife's father *Kaga*, and still called his wife's mother *Toa*. But not in Tiwi. For them, all potential wives were, in theory, mothers' brothers' daughters and all potential wives' fathers were mothers' brothers. But when a man married any such girl, he immediately called her by a new and different kinship term which can only be translated as "wife," and corresponding new and separate terms were used for the actual wife's father, actual wife's mother, and even for the actual wife's father's sister. Thus marriage introduced for a Tiwi a new set of relatives with new kinship terms different from those he used toward his general run of cross-cousins, mother's brothers, father's sisters, and so on, and these "relatives by actual marriage" terms, being based on actual marriages rather than kinship categories, were capable of handling in a fairly orderly manner all the complexities introduced into Tiwi domestic life by such customs as old men exchanging infant daughters or young men marrying each other's mothers. We may sum it up briefly by saying that Tiwi marriages operated within a general framework of cross-cousin marriage kinship categories identical with the categories of the Kariera, but that females had become such important assets in power and prestige relationships among the senior men—marriage had become, so to speak, such a political affair—that a new set of kinship terms based on actual marriages had to be superimposed on the terms geared to cross-cousin marriage; in cases of conflict or anomaly or confusion in the cross-cousin terms, the terms based on actual marriages were controlling or took precedence. Which is only another way of saying that in theory all Tiwi marriages were rather idealistically approximated to marriages between cross-cousins, but in practice they departed quite far from such an ideal; so far, in fact, that extra kinship terms had been introduced to take care of the relationships created by such departures.

"Disputed" Wives

There is still one more category of wives to be mentioned, a category for which the Tiwi had no name in their own language but which in pidgin English they referred to as "stolen" wives. A few women so labeled were likely to turn up in the "list" of the wives of most big men, but analysis of the circumstances in each case makes it clear that "stolen" was an unsuitable label and that wives so designated were most often in a status that should be called either "disputed" or "shared." In legal terms they were wives in which there was or had been a divided interest. To explain fully the nature of these cases would carry us over into both the Tiwi legal and sexual systems, and here we are trying to confine our analysis to those aspects of marriage that have consequences for household organization. Since these disputed or shared wives had

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to at least reside in some household and had at least a nominal current husband at any given moment of time, all we need to note about them at this point is that in any listing of a man's wives we have to include "disputed" wives in addition to all the other categories of wives mentioned previously.

The Household: An Overview

In the discussion so far we have selected only those aspects of the Tiwi family complex that had close bearing on the nature of the household. These aspects can be briefly summarized as follows:

1. the high number of wives per husband that a successful man was likely to acquire if he lived long enough.

2. the two distinct mechanisms by which wives were acquired—infant bestowal and widow remarriage.

3. the operation of the bestowal system in such a way as to prevent even the most promising young man from achieving coresidence with a bestowed wife until he was at least nearly forty years old.

4. the tendency for success to lead to more success, whereby *some* astute men received into their households a number of young wives in rapid succession after the age of forty.

5. the tendency of younger men and of nonbetrothed younger men in particular to marry elderly widows while waiting for betrothed wives to grow up or, in the case of those with no bestowals in sight, to enable them to start a household of their own.

6. as a result of the integrated operation of all these customs, the strong tendency in Tiwi households for husbands to be very much older than their wives (as a result of infant bestowal) or very much younger than their wives (as a result of widow remarriage) or—what was commonest of all in the bigger households—some combination of both. Hence many a Tiwi husband had some wives much older than himself, including some already dead (but still counted), and some very much younger than himself, including some who were still babies in their mothers' wombs (with their sex still undetermined). All these dead wives, current wives, nominal wives, "disputed" wives, not-yet-joined-the-household wives, and not-yet-born wives were still counted in a husband's list, and the length of his list was a measure of his influence, power, and importance as a household head.

It is now perhaps clear why we chose to begin our account of Tiwi culture with some discussion of Tiwi marriage. Compulsory marriage for all females, carried out through the twin mechanisms of infant bestowal and widow remarriage, resulted in a very unusual type of household, in which old successful men had twenty wives each, while men under thirty had no wives at all and men under forty were married mostly to elderly crones. This unusual household structure was the focal point of Tiwi culture. It linked together in an explicable unity the kinship system, the food-gathering system, the political

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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The Beginning of Tiwi Careers

The Malauila in 1928-29 consisted of forty-nine males and sixty females of all ages. The males were divided into the following age groups:

20 years and below	28
between 21 and 30	7
between 31 and 42	7
between 43 and 55	4
over 55	3
Total	49

Of the twenty-eight males aged 20 or below, none had a wife of any kind, and none of them expected or were expected to have one. This group comprised the male children—boys and youths—and such males were of no importance whatever in the Tiwi scheme of things. They lived in the households of older men and were ignored by the male elders.

The next group, the seven men between 21 and 30, was the group of young men whom the elders were just beginning to take seriously. The younger of them were almost indistinguishable from the "youths," while the older of them were beginning to be watched by the seniors with some interest. Of the seven, six were neither married to a wife of any sort nor promised a wife. One, called Banana by the whites, was a man of about 28 and married to an ancient crone who was childless by three previous husbands, but she was in the category of "disputed" wife since her young husband had only been able to acquire and hold her because of abnormal circumstances arising from the presence of white buffalo-hunters on Melville Island some years previously. Under pre-white conditions, none of the seven men under 30 would have had a wife of any kind.

The years between 30 and 40 were the crucial years for Tiwi men in their establishment of households and careers. It was during this period that men normally married their first ancient widows and the "likely to be successful" became sorted out from the less-likely. As they passed into their thirties, men were allowed to enter for the first time into the influence game and, as the most junior players, they entered it by becoming subordinates and satellites of the bigger and more senior players, or by making alliances among themselves so as to pool their small individual assets.

In this age group in 1928-29, there were seven Malauila men ranging in age from around 31 to 42. One (Tiberun) was still unmarried and unpromised. He was thus (at age about 33) the oldest bachelor in the band. Not unnaturally he spent a good deal of time with other bands or at the Mission in the hope that his failure to get started in Malau might be remedied by elders of other bands or even by the priests. Tiberun was an older full brother of Banana, the 28-year-old married irregularly to a woman whom he had "stolen." A glance at their family tree revealed one potent reason why Tiberun

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was still a bachelor and why Banana had acted so impulsively and thereby gotten himself in the bad graces of the elders. The two men were the eldest of four brothers without any full sisters and as such they were necessarily handicapped in their career struggle. Elders seeking satellites or contemporaries seeking allies looked askance at men without sisters, for such men could have no sisters' daughters to use in the marriage-arrangements struggle. The mother of Tiberun and Banana was dead, but even were she still alive, few men would have been interested in marrying a widow whose only living children were sons. Widows without daughters and bachelors without sisters rated very low in the scale of marriageable assets sought either by elders or by contemporaries.

Tiberun was thus the only bachelor in the 30-42 age group. Of the remainder we select Teapot as an example of another man who failed to get started. Teapot was at least 35, and about seven years previously he had "stolen" a wife from an elder. This wife was no ancient and shop-worn widow like the wife Banana had "stolen," but a young girl who had been betrothed in due form to an elder by her father. How Teapot had managed to get away with her is too complicated an incident to unravel here, and in any case it hadn't done Teapot much good. After presenting Teapot with a baby boy the young woman died, and Teapot, with a now six-year-old son, was more or less an outcast among the Malauila. No elder wanted him as a satellite and none of his contemporaries wanted him as an ally. His mother was dead and his only sister was married to a Munupula elder. This sister in Munupi was his only asset and one which a different man might have used as a means to better himself. But Teapot, instead of using this small asset to get started on a career, had chosen to defy the rules and "steal" an elder's bestowed wife. "Stealing" an old widow was reprehensible conduct in the eyes of the elders; stealing a young bestowed wife was unforgivable. Hence Teapot, since his crime, had received no bestowal, had been able to marry no widow, and was wanted by no one as an ally.

A complete contrast to these two unsuccessful men in their thirties was provided by the case of Gitjara, who was about the same age as Tiberun. Gitjara, it is true, had sisters, and that was always a help. Using his sisters (already married and bearing children to an elder) as bait, Gitjara when he was about 28 proposed an alliance to L. F. B., a rather feeble man about five years older than himself, who was not doing very well in the influence race. The gist of the proposal was that, since both their mothers were still alive and each married to an old man who could not last much longer, Gitjara should marry the ancient mother of L. F. B. when she became a widow, and L. F. B. should marry Gitjara's mother when that old lady became a widow. Perhaps the idea originated with the two old women rather than with either of the young men. Since such arrangements were essentially plots or schemes, it is impossible to determine who conceived them in the first place—old women ambitious to aid their sons or young men ready to use their mothers as long-term gambits to ultimately provide themselves with young wives. Mother-exchange operations were probably first conceived at high-level strategy con-

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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This created an intriguing situation since Summit, having had this child bestowed on him at her birth some nine years previously, had thus acquired a bestowed wife at about age 27; Gitjara now 33 or so still had not received a bestowal. By remarrying the mother of Summit's young bestowed wife, Gitjara had turned the tables on one of his chief competitors among his age group. He could not, of course, alter the bestowal; in five or six years' time the girl would take up residence with Summit. But as the step-father who renamed the girl and the head of the household in which she would live for the next five years, Gitjara was in an excellent position to make Summit enter into a deal or two with him. He could drag his feet as to the time of the delivery of the girl to Summit; he could drop hints that there was something irregular about the bestowal to Summit in the first place, and so on; but whatever form of pressure he chose to exert on Summit, the latter well knew that all Gitjara wanted was to be cut in on some of Summit's deals and to be included in the network of Summit's alliances. The next move was now clearly up to Summit.

If Summit wished the nine-year-old girl now in Gitjara's household to be transferred promptly and without argument, he would be well advised to give some consideration to Gitjara, perhaps even the promise of one of his still-to-be-born daughters either as a wife or as a ward. Although not necessary, it would be a politically wise gesture. If he did so, both men would be gambling in futures. Since Summit's young wife was now nine years old, it would be at least six or seven years before she could produce a daughter (if at all) and another fourteen or fifteen years before any such daughter (if she lived) would be old enough to join Gitjara's household either as a wife or ward. Hence, under any such arrangement between the two young men, Summit would be giving something to Gitjara but in such a way that the latter could not collect for at least twenty years and might never collect.

Anthropologists will note that such arrangements still conformed to the patterns of cross-cousin marriage. Gitjara as *de jure* father delivers his "daughter" to Summit and thus becomes technically Summit's mother's brother or wife's father. Twenty years later (if all goes well) Summit delivers his daughter (by Gitjara's daughter) to Gitjara, thus becoming technically the mother's brother or wife's father of Gitjara. Gitjara himself might marry this daughter of Summit by his own step-daughter or treat her as a ward given to him by Summit and bestow her on some other man selected by himself; in the latter case he would be acting as father to his step-daughter's daughter. There were no clan barriers to such an arrangement, since fathers had to belong to clans different from those of their wives and of their daughters, step-daughters and daughters' daughters.

There were, of course, alternative actions or "deals" open to Summit and also to Gitjara, depending upon their plans in other directions. The pattern described above, however, was extremely common in Tiwi marriage arrangements, and often it was the reason why some very old man would receive some female infant as a wife: an agreement of this type had been made twenty or thirty years before, when the now senile old man was in his

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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thirties and when the mother of the baby he was now receiving was married to some man long since dead. The circumstances were certainly right for such an arrangement in the Gitjara-Summit case of 1928.

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If we now pause and look at the marriage career of Gitjara at the point it had reached by the time he was 33, we can separate out three distinct types of operation in which this admirable young man had engaged. His first marriage, with L. F. B.'s elderly mother, had brought into existence a joint household of young men and elderly widows which not only was a very satisfactory housekeeping arrangement but also put Gitjara and his ally, L. F. B., in a position to exert some influence on all the subsequent remarriages of their respective sisters.

Gitjara's marriage a few years later to a second widow put him in a position to enter into marriage arrangements even more directly, since the second widow had a daughter promised to Summit but still too young to take up residence with him. By dragging his feet on the fulfilment of this promise, Gitjara could put pressure on Summit and extract from the latter some sort [584] of consideration to facilitate the delivery of the girl. Gitjara was thus well in the marriage-broker business before he had any children of his own and indeed before he had received any bestowal. This was the second type of operation for an up-and-coming young man, and it was one wherein a shrewd and aggressive operator would use the daughters of other men (that is, of a widow's previous husbands) in such a way as to attach all sorts of codicils and contingent interests and second mortgages to the original bestowal of those daughters, many of these collectable in full only in the far distant future, after all prior interests had been satisfied or had lapsed.

The third type of operation engaged in by Gitjara was, of course, to try and attract bestowed wives of his own. His vigorous operations, by age 33, in the widow remarriage field, were not only ends in themselves but also were the type of operation that attracted the approval of older men with daughters to bestow. Hence it is not surprising to find that by 1929 Gitjara, married to the two widows already mentioned, had received two bestowals. The older of these was a girl of ten rebestowed on Gitjara in 1927 when the man died upon whom she had been bestowed at birth. The second was a baby born in 1927 whose father was Tomitari of the Rangwila. (The choice of Gitjara as a son-in-law by Tomitari was so interesting that we shall discuss it later in this chapter.) Both these bestowals were made *after* Gitjara had engineered his remarriage of the two widows and as far as kinship was concerned had no connection whatever with these widows or their close relatives. We conclude, therefore, that widow remarriage could be used by alert and aggressive men in their early thirties for three purposes: (1) to establish households and obtain elderly housekeepers; (2) to establish low-priority rights in the daughters of the widows' previous husbands; and (3) to attract attention to themselves as smart operators and gain the attention and approval of older men. As an outgrowth of the third purpose, they were likely to attract bestowals. Hence we may say that among the Tiwi the best road to obtaining a [587] young wife or several young wives was for a young man to be first successful

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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in the manipulation of the remarriages of elderly widows, who were always in large supply. If a man showed skill and know-how in his early thirties among the widows, then in his late thirties and early forties young wives would be bestowed upon him in abundance. Such a lesson could not have a better exemplar than Gitjara. By age 33 he had done so well among the widows that his first *young* wife would be joining his household by the time he was thirty-eight or thirty-nine, and another was already a year old. Clearly he was a young man of promise and one to be watched—and cultivated.

Summit, a man slightly older than Gitjara, must be dealt with very briefly, since the reasons for his success would take us too far afield. In 1929 he had a list of six wives, the only resident one being an elderly widow. The other five were bestowals and the eldest of these was the girl of ten whom we have already mentioned as being in the household of her step-father, Gitjara. Two more, younger than the ten-year-old, were in the household of Padimo (see below) and the remaining two were in the household of one of the elders of the Rangwila band. Summit, in Tiwi reckoning, was a Rangwila himself and had only moved to Malau a few years before. Some four years previously he had been a young Rangwila with no less than five bestowed child-wives. Three of these had been given him by an elder in Malau, two by an elder of his own band. The Malauila girls were older than the two Rangwila girls and his Malauila father-in-law was older than his Rangwila father-in-law. Summit therefore moved north to supervise personally his interests in Malau. He had, however, been out-maneuvered when the Malauila father-in-law died, since Gitjara had then been able to remarry the mother of Summit's eldest child-wife and Padimo had been able to remarry the mother of the other two little girls. Having thus moved to Malau to be near to and a satellite of his elderly Malauila father-in-law, Summit now found himself the technical son-in-law of two young men of his own age group who were among his keen competitors in the influence struggle. To ensure that his three promised Malauila child-wives joined his household when old enough, he now needed to make some arrangements with Gitjara and Padimo. Summit had gotten his bestowals rather early and rather easily but he still had the problem of nailing them down.

While thus engaged in acquiring five bestowed young wives and trying to promote their safe delivery when ready, Summit had married a widow not much more than forty years old but childless by her two previous husbands.[8] Such a widow at least provided him with a food-getter and housekeeper and enabled him to establish a household into which his five bestowed wives would enter as they successively reached the proper age. Thus Summit's household in 1929 consisted only of himself and his *palimaringa* wife. Within the next fifteen years it would be increased by the addition of at least five young wives,

[8] Such women who had reached middle age without surviving children were called by a special term, *palimaringa*, in Tiwi and the term referred to childlessness rather than barrenness. Summit's widow, for example, had borne two children, both of whom had died in infancy, and she was classified as a *palimaringa*. When a *palimaringa* became very, very old indeed, the word changed to *timaringa*.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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of that wealthy elder, we will first summarize, in Table I, the marital conditions of the eight young men we have been discussing.

TABLE I
THE MALAUILA YOUNG MEN IN 1928-29

Name	Age	Resident Old Wives (Ex-widows)	Resident Young Wives (Bestowals)	Promised Wives (Under 14)	Own Children
Tiberun	33	0	0	0	0
Banana	28	1	0	0	0
Teapot	35	0[a]	0	0	1
Gitjara	33	2	0	2	1
L. F. B.	38	1	0	1	0
Summit	36	1	0	5	0
Padimo	36	1	2	3	0[b]
Boya	42	1	0	4	0

[a] Teapot's "stolen" wife was dead.
[b] Padimo's first child, born in 1929, lived only a few days.

This table presents a summary of many of our earlier attempts at generalization. The only Malauila under the age of 43 who had a bestowed young wife old enough to live with him was Padimo, who was thus exceptionally lucky. Leaving out young Banana, five of the seven men between the ages of 30 and 42 had young females promised to them, but these were mostly babies or children who would not come into residence for several years. Six of the seven had married widows, mostly elderly widows, well in advance of the arrival of young wives and before any father had bestowed a daughter on them. Finally, and a point not made before, men of this age group rarely had any children of their own. The only entries in the last column of Table I are the irregularly born son of Teapot; Padimo's first daughter who died virtually at birth; and the 1-year-old son of Gitjara who was the last child born to his second ex-widow. Tiwi men rarely had young wives until they were around forty; they even more rarely had any children of their own before that age. Padimo's dead baby and Gitjara's 1-year-old son were exceptional; the zeros in the last column against the names of Boya (42), L. F. B. (38), and Summit (36) represent the normal situation for Tiwi men of such ages.

In terms of success (as measured by bestowals) Padimo and Summit (largely through the patronage of elders) and Boya and Gitjara (largely through their own operations) were the coming young men among the Malauila. Of the others, L. F. B. was approaching forty with few assets and no influence, and the other three, Tiberun, Banana, and Teapot, had not even got started in the influence race.

A Very Successful Elder: Ki-in-kumi

The most influential man in Malau and the head of the biggest household was Ki-in-kumi. Since he had been born around 1863-64 and had been

4: Hart E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 OI20 Tiwi OI20

551 render his name tabu. This is the case among the Tiwi. All the names of a dead man become strictly *pukimani* (=tabu) immediately upon his death. Anyone in the tribe who uses a name of a dead person at any time for years after his death but especially in the period—usually about five to six months—that always elapses between the death and the funeral corroboree, violates one of the strictest social sanctions the tribe possesses.
192 And this prohibition extends to all words in the ordinary language—
551 though curiously enough not in the sacred language—which bear any
765 resemblance in sound to any one of the names of the dead man. It applies equally to English names in use by the tribe with resemblances to native or English words and to native words which resemble either English or native words. Thus a boy named *Tipuki* having died "tobacco," "baccy," *Tiparkitimiri* all equally became *pukimani*. Similarly when *Mulankina*, one of the Mandeimbula horde died, *mulikina*, one of the commonest words in the language, meaning "plenty," "full," "enough," was dropped completely from the language.

551 Nor does the *pukimani* stop here. Not only is the use of any of the
553 names of the dead man prohibited, but there is an equally strong rule against the use of any of the personal names he has bestowed upon other people, be they his own children or the children of others. A young child may only have one name, that given him by his father, but should his father die he must become nameless until he gets a new name from somewhere. This aspect of the *pukimani* does not extend to similar words in either the ordinary or the sacred language. For instance although
[192 765] *Tombu*, a proper name bestowed by an old man became *pukimani* on the latter's death, the ordinary word *tamu* (imperative form of verb 'to sit down') was not affected.

582 On account chiefly of the extreme form of polygyny practised by the
595 Tiwi whereby most of the girls and young women belong to a comparatively few old men, the father of a family is almost invariably much older than his wife. While a woman goes to live with her husband at about the age of 13, a man is lucky to get his first wife under the age of 35. It follows that in the great majority of cases the father of children dies
587 long before the mother. Therefore as a woman without a husband is unknown amongst the Tiwi, a woman passes through the possession of quite a number of different men during her lifetime and does not remain in an unmarried state for more than a day or two. A widow

6: Hart E-5 (1928-1930) 1954 OI20 Tiwi OI20

159 admitted the charge along the age-old line of "the woman tempted me," Louis always faced his accusers silently, sullenly, almost disinterestedly. He never excused himself, never alibied. On the other hand he never gloried in or boasted of his sexual exploits, he merely gave the impression that he was completely disinterested in the whole procedure of argument and punishment and wanted to get it over with as quickly as possible. It was very evident that, despite his sexual reputation, he was not invested with any glamour nor did he excite any hero-worship on the part of the younger men. The role of Don Juan [555] in some cultures can presumably be a role that leads to a successful seducer's [837] being envied and even to some extent hero-worshipped by the young bloods, but this seems quite absent as a cultural possibility in Tiwi values. Successful young seducers never act publicly as if they were proud of themselves nor in any way show off or assume a "look how clever I am" manner. Absence of such behavior was very noticeable in others besides Louis, and certainly he never acted in such a way, despite his obvious suitability for such a role were it culturally available.

In camp and during the periods of the collective life he was silent, gloomy and dour, frequently irritable, unfriendly and hostile to everybody. He was too young, in Tiwi terms, to rate a wife, but the policy of the Mission to discourage plural marriages had as its positive correlate the promotion of marriages for the wifeless young men and Louis was one of those who had obtained a wife through Mission manipulations. She died after a beating which Louis in one of his frequent fits of anger had administered to her, and while the natives never said so openly, they clearly agreed with the Mission's charges that Louis had murdered his wife. Thus accused to his face by the Mission, Louis shrugged his shoulders in his normal, indifferent way. In council he seldom spoke and what he said carried no weight. This, of course, may well have [561] been due to his age as in Tiwi terms Louis at 31 or 32 was still a young man who should keep silent in the presence of his seniors. But it was very noticeable that even in the quick informal conferences between members of a party on the march involving such petty decisions as whether to camp at this waterhole or try and make the next one before nightfall, or in similar minor decision-making, Louis took no part. He listened silently to the debate, was very quick to foresee correctly what the decision was going to be as was evidenced by his starting off again by himself before the main party had realized where the consensus lay, but he apparently felt no urge to express aloud his own views on the issue. His actions showed that in his private analysis of the situation he was way ahead of most of the debaters but apparently his personal satisfactions came from correct anticipation of majority decision rather than from any desire to participate himself in decision-making. The same ability to listen, analyze what he heard, to act upon his own analysis but never to intervene actively was very noticeable in Louis' reaction to the accusations against him by the outraged husbands. An outraged husband usually begins his charges late at night when the camps are quiet. At such a time he begins to yell his accusations through the darkness at the top of his voice, naming the seducer,

6: Hart E-5 (1928-1930) 1954 OI20 Tiwi OI20

of the oldest and most respected seniors, particularly of Tu'untalumi and those swayed by his opinion. It follows from this that Tip though given to jokes and pranks cannot be written off as merely a privileged buffoon. On the contrary his wit and gaiety earned him friends and his friends gave him influence out of proportion to his youth. Some insight into this is supplied by the shadow of the ubiquitous Louis. Tipperary, through the missionaries' efforts on behalf of monogamy, had obtained a wife at a much earlier age than would have been possible under pre-white conditions, and according to the women, who have their own sources of information about such things, Louis was strongly attracted by Tipperary's wife. Since Louis was not noted for restraint or self-discipline in these matters the obvious question was why he did not press his attention on her as he had done on numerous other women, including the wife of Tip's younger brother Bob. "Oh no, he doesn't dare chase after Tipperary's wife. The old men would be very angry if he did anything to her," was the reply of the old hags who were the local gossip columnists. This belief that the "old men" would undoubtedly protect Tip's wife while they had noticeably failed to protect Bob's wife from a similar threat (see below) is a pretty clear indication that the two young men had very different places in tribal estimation—a fact that in turn can be correlated with no status differential between them and leaves only the "personality" difference between the two men to account for it. Tip was popular with the control groups, Bob was not, therefore the control groups would support Tip because they liked him. They were indifferent toward Bob.[10]

To summarize Tipperary is relatively easy. He was a cheery, relaxed, fun-loving young man who enjoyed his own humor but enjoyed it all the more if it were shared by an appreciative audience. He was therefore gregarious, friendly, outgoing and extroverted. He would have been a good Rotarian or a better disk-jockey. Because of these traits he was noticed a great deal more by his elders than his age justified and the notice he received was usually favorable. He was popular in a way none of his brothers were, and because of this popularity was able to express opinions and exert influence to an extent unusual for one of his years. In a society where men under 30 are expected to be seen and not heard, Tip was constantly being heard. This was only possible because his natural gaiety and warmth prejudiced almost everybody in his favor. He was the sort of man about whom it is often said in our culture "he always makes a party go," or, "he is the sort of person who just naturally makes friends."

BOB

The youngest brother, Bob, needs only two words to describe him—complete nonentity. About 27 or 28 when I knew him and, because of the Mission's efforts, married a good deal younger than he would have been under pre-white conditions, Bob, whatever the occasion or circumstances, was always part of the background. Like many of the younger Tiwi he was inclined to spend part of each year in Darwin working for the white men, and by them he was regarded as a good, willing, obliging and respectful worker.

9:Harney & Elkin E-4, 5 (ca. 1940)1943 O120 Tiwi O120

Each of these *awuya*, sometimes called Pukui (sun),[1] has a number of cult centres and in them resides the "old woman" of the clan; these are also called *awuya*. The sacred site of the Tukambani clan is at Morapeanga, Cape Keith; of the Miatui, Irapulanwa, Buchanan Island in the Apsley Straits; of the Kudjali, Padupi; Sanke Bay, or as the natives say in their quaint pidjin, Djesakabe, which is on the north of Melville Island, an old trepang site.

As far as could be ascertained, no fixed belief is associated with these clan centres. They are not burial caves invested with a ritual significance such as we find in parts of the mainland (Wadaman and other tribes), yet the shade or spirit of the dead does follow the track made by the natives as they come from the sacred centre to "show it the road." Only some natives know this. It is probably a ritual that has become lost with the advent of new ideas.

Clan Relationship. To marry within a major clan or phratry, *aramipi*, is taboo, *kimiyari*. A person of one phratry can only marry into the other two major clans. Thus, all Tukambani and their kindred sub-clans are mother, mother's brother, mother's mother, mother's mother's brother, sister's son and daughter, brother and sister. They call people in the other two clans father, father's sister, son, daughter, wife, wife's brother, wife's mother, wife's mother's brother, wife's mother's mother and wife's mother's brother. In other words, descent is matrilineal.

Marriage Law. The marriage law is the same as in most tribes: a man marries his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter or, as the natives would say, "a man marries his group sister's son's daughter." They have equal exchange in marriage, that is "opposite brothers exchange sisters." An "uncle" (mother's brother) takes his (group) nephew's daughter, and the group nephew receives the uncle's daughter in exchange (cross-cousin type). There are neither subsections nor sections and indeed, no moieties. A reason may be suggested for this: being isolated on the island, each person knew his or her relationship to the others, and as there was no intertribal exchange, the need for this type of classification never arose. One of the important functions of the section and subsection systems is to facilitate intercourse between tribal groups.

The marriage system with relationship terms is explained in the following table:

		1		2
A	.. *ubunga* m.m.m.m. or sr.	*UWANI* M.M.M.M.B. or B. (Ego)	*yarbunaiya* w.	*YANUMINI* W.B.
B	.. *yamorig* m.m.m.	*YARMURDI* M.M.M.B.	*umbreniwa* w.m.	*YAPINAWINI* W.M.B.
C	.. *imaningo* m.m.	*IMANANI* M.M.B.	*tumaliya* w.m.m.	*TAMALITI* W.M.M.B.
D	.. *inari* m.	*ILAMANI* M.B.	*umarani* w.m.m.m.	*IMERANINGA* W.M.M.M.B.
A	.. *ubunga* sr.	*UWANE* B.	*yabunaiya* w.	*YANUMINI* W.B.

[1] These natives have numerous names for the same object, the result of the taboo on certain words after a death.

9:Harney & Elkin E-4, 5 (ca. 1940) 1943 OI20 Tiwi OI20

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All those in number one group belong to the same clan, and are "opposite" to those of number two group, who also belong to one clan. The lines A, B, C and D are intermarrying groups, i.e. Ego marries his *yabunaiya*, etc.

Of course, relationship terms also include others denoting the type of relation or blood tie. For instance, a mother's brother or a sister's son (group) when distantly related to Ego could be his father-in-law and would then be called *YUNARENIWA*. A true father is *ERINGANI*, a father's sister, *yauaniya*; father's father *ARMINI*; father's mother, *arnuma*; mother's brother's own daughter, *yamuina*, and one son, *YAMUWANINI*[4]; half brother is *INGULABINI* and a half-sister *inguleba*.[5]

582

This system of marriage is not unlike the Murngin and Anula system and also is the same as the *wadji wadji* (wrong side marriage) of the Mudbara. In one, cross-cousins—not *inguleba*—can marry, while in the true Mudbara cross-cousin marriage is prohibited.

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Rites. The rituals centre around the Kulama. The underlying principle of this is to ensure that the Kulama (a small hot yam that embodies the spirit of the "old woman" and guardian of the horde) is cooked correctly, for this ensures her protection against Maradji, the rainbow snake, another old woman who can cause evil to come upon them and "swallow them" up. It is performed during the wet season by each family, and is said to bring about a plentiful supply of food. The Kulama is also used to pass the initiates, both male and female, from a lower to a higher order in the social scale, although I myself could not see that any important results were obtained by the initiates through the ritual.[6]

[561]

Some result, or at least protection, however, is obtained: if the Kulama is not sung or danced at the prescribed time or place, the Marakarti (spear grass) and also the ring used for cooking the Kulama yams at the ritual, would give rise to a poison, *Tani*, which would pass into the air and cause sickness; perhaps a youth who had not passed through the Kulama would sicken and die. On the other hand, a youth who has passed through the ritual may gain a certain satisfaction by believing that he can drive the sickness away and protect the family. In addition, the Kulama is not only an increase ritual for yams; in it the father also "sings" the name of his child in a form of song, *apa*, and foretells in a dream that a certain spirit "shade" will be incarnated through one of his wives at some future date; for these children are waiting at that "spirit dreaming" place called Bilawuwi. In other words, it is a human increase ritual.

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[842]

[4] These are true cousins and cannot marry.

[5] This *inguleba* native is the term for persons who are taboo to Ego; they cannot approach Ego's wives, as their sweat must not touch. They are people who are "out of line" in relationship. For instance, if a Kudjarli man marries two women, one a Tukambani and the other a Mantui, his children would be of two different *pukui* or totems. These children, half-brothers and half-sisters, are *inguleba* to each other.

[6] It is unlike the Karawadi of the subincised people, in which the initiate is fraud of certain food taboos, and again in the Kudidjingara, through which the old men receive magical power to levy tribute from the young people of the tribe, who have not passed through that ritual.

10:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1962 O120 Tiwi O120

emphasized, are presented from the point of view of a female Ego, for I strongly feel that it is only by using a female Ego that one can see the Tiwi marriage "game" as a "system." Following this, I present the kinship terminology together with some comments on the system of kin classification that are relevant to the marriage system. The last section discusses some aspects of the exchange of women between descent groups and local groups.

I am only too well aware that I do not have all the facts necessary to make a complete analysis of Tiwi social organization. It must also be stated that the relative-age analysis was a desk study based largely on what I believe to be logical deductions from the collected factual information pertaining to the age differences between spouses.[4] More field work is obviously necessary, and I hope that others who become interested in the problems of analysis and classification raised by this paper will comment and thereby suggest what they consider to be crucial areas for reinvestigation.

The Factor of Relative Age in Marriage Contracts

Hart and Pilling (1960) have described the dynamic nature of Tiwi marriage contracts from the point of view of a male Ego. My study supports their conclusion that for a Tiwi male the acquisition of wives and the acquisition of prestige are dependant variables. A Tiwi male will rarely acquire a wife through any form of contract before the age of 30. A bestowed wife, one who is promised before birth and becomes a cohabiting wife before puberty, is a valuable prestige symbol, but difficult to acquire. Thus a young man will frequently start his household with the acquisition of a less valuable but more easily obtainable type of wife, i.e., a widow, often of advanced age. Some Tiwi males never obtain sufficient prestige or political power to become involved in a bestowal contract, while others who are more fortunate may be involved in several such contracts.

My study of Tiwi marriage contracts from the point of view of a female Ego reveals some interesting differences in perspective. First and foremost is the fact that, while involvement in a bestowal contract is a cultural ideal, albeit rarely realized, for a male's first marriage, it is an inescapable norm for every Tiwi woman's first marriage. Thus, while this type of contract can be considered "preferential" but not normative from the point of a male Ego, it is acknowledged by Tiwi women as an inflexible "rule" governing their first marriage before puberty to a man whom they describe as "the one who grew me up, treated me like a father, and made me a woman."[5]

Thus a marriage contract for a man's first wife need not be—and frequently is not—the same as the initial contract leading to a girl's primary marriage. Furthermore, the form of the contract for a man's first wife is apt to vary considerably, whereas the form of the initial

[5] [The Tiwi believe that sexual intercourse is the direct and only cause of menarche. Cf. p.165, cat. 116 -- Analyst.]

10:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1962 OI20 Tiwi OI20

contract for a girl's primary marriage follows a consistent cultural pattern.

In any discussion of a marriage system all the varieties of marriage contracts must be considered. If, however, one variety is found to be more frequent, preferred, prescribed, or invariable, then that is the one to which all the others must be related. In the Tiwi marriage system there is no difficulty in determining which type of contract should be considered basic to the others. The initial contract which leads to a first marriage of a Tiwi girl is prescribed and invariable and is thus necessarily the most frequent from the point of view of a female Ego, and it is also a preferred contract from the point of view of a male Ego. In the following discussion, I shall refer to this type of contract as a Type A contract. Types B, C, and D are all contracts leading to secondary marriages of Tiwi widows and will be briefly discussed later.

A Type A contract is made during the five-day period in which a girl is isolated in the bush at the time of her first menstrual period. Although she has been living with her first husband, she is separated from him at this time. When she again returns to her husband's camp, she is not only considered to have reached the status of a woman but also that of a mother-in-law. While she is in the bush, her father places a spear between her legs as she sleeps and then presents it to a boy or man whom he selects to serve his daughter as a son-in-law. The spear is regarded by the recipient as a symbol of a bestowed wife yet to be born to his young mother-in-law. By accepting the spear, the son-in-law becomes obligated to his mother-in-law; from that moment on he must supply her with food and goods and such services as she may request at any time. In return, she is held solely responsible for seeing that her first daughter is sent to his camp when she reaches the wifely age of eight or ten. After receiving the first daughter, the son-in-law is expected to continue his services to his wife's mother, in return for which he can expect to receive other daughters subsequently born to her. The initial contract continues until either the son-in-law or mother-in-law dies. If either fails to honor his obligation, however, the other may terminate the contract. A Type A contract is therefore essentially a contract between a mother-in-law and a son-in-law. The arranger of the contract is the mother-in-law's father.

The Tiwi, like the majority of Australian societies, consider cross-cousin marriage to be the proper form of marriage arrangements. For the sake of simplicity, I shall conduct the following analysis as if the preferential marriage pattern involved first cousins, although in fact it generally involves second cousins. For the purpose of viewing the system from the standpoint of relative age the distinction between a first and a second cousin is irrelevant. The question of classificatory cousins will be deferred until the kinship terminology is discussed.

The following analysis of Type A contracts in terms of the factor of relative age will show that the selection of a *Pa'Bo* rather than a

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MoBrSo to be the first husband of a girl is not merely a question of preferential choice; a FaSiSo is actually the only cross-cousin of the appropriate age to be considered as a party to a Type A contract.

As a first step, let us consider the expected relative ages of the principal parties to a Type A contract: the mother-in-law, the son-in-law, and the expected daughter-wife. A girl becomes a mother-in-law at puberty. For the sake of convenience we may consider this to be at the absolute minimum age of ten. A boy becomes a son-in-law at an age of not less than ten, and he may well be older than this. The minimum age of a Tiwi male is determined by his physical ability to hunt for and otherwise serve his mother-in-law in order to fulfill his part of the contract.

We cannot expect the future daughter and wife to be born, on the average, for at least five years and conceivably not for twenty years after the contract is made. However, again for convenience, let us assume that, on the average, the promised daughter will be born ten years from the date of the contract, i.e., when both the mother and the son-in-law are about twenty years old. The young girl will not become a cohabiting wife for approximately another eight or ten years, at which time her promised husband will be at least 28 to 30 years of age. Thus an average difference of twenty years between the ages of a girl and her first husband is to be expected—a difference which is dictated solely by the form and nature of the initial Type A contract.

Hart (1930: 282) believed that this twenty-year age difference was largely a result of the excessive practice of polygyny quite evident in his time (ca. 1930). However, in 1954, when most polygynous households had been broken up, an analysis of age differences for all primary unions for women in my sample still reflected the same disparity. Few men under the age of 30 had received wives, and only one girl over the age of ten had not yet been given to her promised husband. The average age difference between wives and first husbands was 18.9 years, with a range of from three to 54 years (Goodale 1959: 72).

I shall next consider the expected relative ages of parents, siblings, and the children of siblings (cousins). If there is a twenty-year age difference between husbands and wives, it logically follows that the same age difference will also exist between the mothers and fathers of children. A woman can expect to have children by the age of twenty, while a man will not be expected to have legitimate children until about the age of 40. If we assume that siblings are of the same relative age (there being a 50/50 chance that brothers and sisters are older or younger), then we can expect that a sister will, on the average, have a child twenty years before her brother has a child. Thus it can be expected that the FaSiSo of a female Ego will be twenty years older than she is, and that her MoBrSo will be twenty years younger. In arranging the primary marriage of a girl, it is thus virtually impossible that she be promised to a MoBrSo who by expectation is twenty years younger than she, and who indeed is

582 probably not even born when she reaches the wifely age of ten. A
605 FaSiSo, on the other hand, is a cross-cousin belonging to the correct age group to be a party to the initial marriage contract. Relative age, therefore, determines that a Type A marriage contract, which is culturally universal for a woman's primary marriage and preferential from the point of view of male prestige, results almost inevitably in unilateral cross-cousin marriage between a MoBrDa and her FaSiSo.

582 The preferred form for widow remarriage among the Tiwi is to a
587 younger brother of the deceased husband. This type of remarriage contract stems directly from the Type A contract and may be considered a continuation thereof. It is therefore here classified as a Type A2 contract. As a woman grows older, when and if her Type A contract or its continuation runs out, alternative choices for secondary husbands are available to her, and acceptable to the Tiwi, among other cross-cousins.

582 A comparable method of analysis indicates that, as between the sons of a father's elder and younger sisters, a woman's primary marriage under a Type A contract is very much more likely to be with
[595] her FaElSiSo, and that under these circumstances she will probably enter her husband's household as a second and junior wife. Her elder co-wives play an important part in her education as a wife.

582 After she becomes a widow, however, she may become the first wife,
587 with the title of *taramaguta*, of a FaYoSiSo or of a MoElBrSo through a Type A2 or B contract. A MoYoBrSo, however, may be expected
593 to be considerably younger than Ego, and my analysis of all marriages in 1954 showed that only after the age of 30 do we find women married to husbands younger than they. Such a marriage can never be the result of a Type A contract but may occur under contracts of Types B, C, or D (see below).

Not only does the twenty-year average age difference between husband and wife under a Type A contract have the effect of practically limiting the choice among cross-cousins for a woman's first husband to a father's elder sister's son; it also means that a woman may expect to have at least two husbands during her lifetime. Indeed, she is likely to have a series of husbands whose ages relative to her own are successively younger until, as an elderly widow, she may well become the first wife of a man very much younger than herself.

Classification of Tiwi Marriage Contracts

584 The form and nature of Tiwi marriage contracts cannot be understood merely by looking at the results of the contract, i.e., who marries whom. One must also look at who has the authority to make the contract, who are parties to the contract, who implements the contract, and who can change a contract. Among the Tiwi the rights, duties, and obligations that pertain to all these aspects of a marriage contract are specified and reside in different individuals at different times in a woman's life. Here again the age factor must be considered, for while these rights, duties, and obligations lie in the

hands of a limited number of specified relatives of the woman, the privilege of exercising a particular role in a marriage contract depends on the individual's age relative to others holding similar rights and relative to the woman involved in the contract. I have chosen to base the following classification of contracts on the single factor of who has the right to make the contract.

Type A Contracts

A Type A contract involves four individuals. The authority to make the contract resides solely in the hands of the bride's mother's father. At the time the contract is made, this man is at the expected age of 50—the age when a man is at the height of his political career. Acquiring wives for himself to further his career and maintain his prestige is only one of the activities involving marriage contracts in which a Tiwi male is engaged at this time of life. As a father, he has a duty to look after the welfare of his daughters even after they are married. As an elder in a matrilineal descent group, he has a similar duty toward all younger members of that descent group, male and female. By arranging a correct Type A marriage contract, a Tiwi man can fulfill two duties at the same time. He can provide his daughter with a son-in-law, whom he selects on the basis of potential economic and political ability and who, if of roughly the same age as the daughter, can be expected to provide her, under the terms of the contract, with continued support throughout her life. By selecting a young man in his own descent group (his sister's daughter's son) to provide this support, he at the same time assures this young man that he will eventually obtain a bestowed and preferred type of wife which will help him on his road to prestige.

The arranger of a Type A contract may be dead by the time the bride is of an age to be given over to her selected groom. The rights to implement the contract, consequently, do not permanently reside with the arranger, but rather they are the duty of the mother of the bride. They are not given to the mother's husband, even if he is also the bride's father. In the space of time that may well elapse between the arrangement of the contract and its implementation, the bride's mother may have a number of husbands, each of whom may have different axes to grind and varying motives for changing the selection of the groom. The right to change any Type A contract belongs to both the mother of the bride and to the groom; if either does not live up to the obligations of the contract the other may consider it void.

A Type A contract, therefore, is one which preferentially and frequently results in a marriage of a MoFaSiDaSo to a MoMoBrDaDa and in a marital union between two matrilineal descent groups. This arrangement is unaffected either by the death of the arranger or by any secondary marriage of the bride's mother to a man who, though the real father of the bride, might possibly belong to a descent group other than the two originally involved in the contract.

The enduring quality of a Type A contract over a span of two generations is a most important aspect of the total marriage system

582 of the Tiwi. Any variation from the proper, preferred form of a marriage contract in one generation will not normally have any effect on the marriages of the succeeding generation (indeed, there may not be any succeeding generation if the woman is past childbearing age). When and if the effect is felt in the marriage contracts of the second descending generation, approximately 80 years will have elapsed, i.e., time enough for necessary social adjustments to have been made and accepted. And since a woman's husbands have no control over their daughters' initial marriages, variation from the patterned norm of unilateral cross-cousin and descent-group exchange is not only allowed but is a frequent occurrence. While certain alternatives are preferable, such as a cross-cousin from a different descent group, marriage with relatives other than cross-cousins is permitted with certain limitations.

Type B Contracts

584 A Type B marriage is one which is arranged by a bride's father or mother's husband. A bride's father has a right and a duty to arrange a daughter's marriage if, and only if, her Type A contract has become void, either because of the death of her promised husband and the lack of any legitimate (A2) heirs to her Type A contract, or because her mother has deemed the contract void because of nonfulfillment of obligations on the part of the promised husband. Although a marriage resulting from a Type B contract may in fact be 582 the first actual marriage of the bride, it is considered a secondary 587 marriage by the Tiwi, and therefore the selection of a groom by the bride's father need not necessarily be confined to the preferential category of FaSiSo. Because the bride's father also has obligations to his own descent group, he may well give his daughter to a member of his matrilineal sib. This may or may not be the same descent group as that from which the first groom was selected. The bride's [593] father, if he is a man "on the way up," may also make "daughter exchange" an essential part of a Type B contract.

Type C Contracts

584 A Type C contract is one which is arranged by a woman's 587 brothers. When a woman's father dies, her brothers inherit the duty 593 to look after her welfare, and, as this duty applies to their sister's marriage, they may well find themselves in a position to arrange a secondary marriage for her. Since they usually belong to the same descent group as their sister, they need not necessarily consider descent-group obligations in the choice of a groom. Brothers, like fathers, may well make the direct exchange of women an essential part of a Type C contract.

Type D Contracts

A Type D contract is one which is ostensibly arranged by a woman's sons, after the death of her brothers. If a young man who

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601 582 It became apparent to me, when I was collecting kinship terminology, that actual genealogical connection was an important factor in Tiwi kin classification and also, of course, in determining expected behavior. It is perhaps for this reason that I have always viewed the system of preferential marriage as concerned with actual second cross-cousins rather than with classificatory cross-cousins however distantly removed. First cross-cousins are definitely considered a "little-bit-wrong-way." Unfortunately my actual genealogies are too few and too shallow to shed much statistical light on the problem. It has also occurred to me that with extreme polygyny and obligatory remarriage there should be more first and second cross-cousins available to Ego than with monogamy or limited polygyny.

601 With their strong preference for unilateral cross-cousin marriage it might be expected that the Tiwi would have a Sudanese type of cousin terminology in which cross-cousins would be terminologically differentiated on the basis of whom one could and could not marry. When I phrased this question to my women informants, however, I could find no such discrimination. Women do, nevertheless, make a terminological distinction between cross-cousins to whom they are technically married before birth and those whom they may marry in the future when and if their Type A contract lapses.

585 881 Here I must interject some additional ethnographic information. At the conclusion of a girl's puberty ceremony, she returns to the camp of her husband (*imbunei*), where she is painted. Then her husband and his brothers, all of whom she also calls *imbunei*, line up with the youngest first and the actual husband last. One by one they hit her with a feather pompom (*tokwiinga*) until the husband's turn arrives. At this point the girl runs, and her husband pursues her, catches her, and makes her kneel by a tree, which is marked. I have chosen to regard this ritual as a marriage ceremony in which the Type A contract is finally validated with all its ramifications. The [582] fact that the husband's brothers are terminologically classed even at this time with the actual husband and play a part in the marriage ceremony may be regarded as validating the continuance of the Type A contract through successive remarriages (of Type A2) to the younger brothers of the original holder of the contract.

587 601 If a woman survives all her *imbunei*, she becomes eligible to marry any of her other cross-cousins, either matrilateral or patrilateral, through contracts of Types B, C, or D. It is these cross-cousins, who did not become auxiliary "husbands" under her Type A contract, to whom she applies the term *mawaninya* or its variant, *mawanini*.

601 ## *Terminology in the First Ascending Generation*

11 *iringani*: father; also FaBr, FaFaSo, FaFaBrSo, MoHuFa, MoHuFaBr. Affinal application: MoHu, MoMoHuHu, HuHuBr.

12 *ingani*: mother; also MoSi, MoMoDa, MoMoSiDa, FaFaSiDa. Affinal application: FaWi, MoHuFaWi, HuFaSi.

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13 *ilimani:* mother's brother; also MoMoSo, MoMoSiSo, MoFaFa. Affinal application: HuFa, FaSiHu, MoFaMoHu. 601

14 *intinganinga:* father's sister; also FaFaDa, FaFaSiDa, MoFaSiDa. Affinal application: HuMo, "MoBr" Wi.

15 *timandinga:* classificatory "father's sister"; also MoMoBrDa. Affinal application: MoBrWi, WiMo (before contract).

16 *ambrinua:* wife's mother (after contract); also DaHu (ws) after contract.

While the Tiwi make no terminological distinction between an actual and a classificatory MoBr (*ilimani*), they do distinguish between an actual FaSi (*intinganinga*), with whom the wife of a classificatory MoBr is classed, and a classificatory "FaSi" (*timandinga*) who is the wife of an actual MoBr. Female informants say: "We cannot marry the son of a real mother's brother, but a long-way mother's brother's son is all right." Male informants phrase the rule differently: "We cannot marry the daughter of a real father's sister; we call our mother-in-law *timandinga* before the contract and *ambrinua* afterwards." This terminology, together with the informants' statements, rather clearly implies unilateral cross-cousin marriage. 582 601

Terminology in the First Descending Generation

17 *imarani:* son (ms); also BrSo (ws), MoBrDaSo, DaDaSo (ms), BrDaDaSo (ws). Affinal application: DaHu (ws) before contract, SiDaHu (ms), SiDaDaDaHu (ms), DaDaDaHu (ws). 601

18 *imaranunga:* daughter (ms); also BrDa (ws), MoBrDaDa, DaDaDa (ms), BrDaDaDa (ws). Affinal application: SoWi (ws), SiSoWi (ms) DaDaSoWi (ws), SiDaDaSoWi (ms).

19 *merti:* son (ws); also SiSo (ms), DaDaSo (ws), SiDaDaSo (ms). Affinal application: DaHu (ms), BrDaHu (ws), DaDaDaHu (ms), BrDaDaDaHu (ws), MoBrDaDaHu.

20 *maringa:* daughter (ws); also SiDa (ms), DaDaDa (ws), SiDaDaDa (ms). Affinal application: SoWi (ms), BrSoWi (ws), DaDaSoWi (ms), MoBrDaSoWi.

Although the terms appropriate to the first ascending and first descending generations are in general kept distinct, they are to some extent interchangeable when warranted by differences in relative age and the behavior associated therewith.

The applications of the terms *merti* and *maringa*, in contrast to those of the terminology in the first ascending generation, suggest a rule of bilateral cross-cousin marriage with sister exchange. The rest of my analysis, however, indicates a strong preference for unilateral cross-cousin marriage and the impossibility of sister exchange in Type A contracts. The seeming inconsistencies may, of course, reflect a period of uncompleted change in social structure, but this lies outside the province of the present paper, which is concerned with showing how the system operates today. 182 582 583

Terminology in the Second Ascending Generation

21 *amini:* mother's father; also MoFaBr, FaMoBr. Affinal application: MoMoHu, FaMaHu. 601

22 *ama:* father's mother; also FaMoSi, MoFaSi. Affinal application: MoFaWi, MoMoBrWi.

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601 23 *angamani:* father's father; also FaFaBr, MoMoBr. Affinal application: MaMoHu, MoFaSiHu.

24 *imaninga:* mother's mother; also MoMoSi, FaFaSi. Affinal application: MoFaWi, FaMoBrWi.

Unlike *amini* and *ama*, the terms *angamani* and *imaninga* are not indefinitely extended collaterally, the more distant collateral kin being classed as elder siblings, i.e., *iwuni* or *imbunga*.

Terminology in the Second Descending Generation

25 *inimini:* daughter's son (ms); also BrDaSo (ws). Affinal application: DaDaHu (ws), SiDaDaHu (ms), "Si"Hu.

26 *inimunga:* daughter's daughter (ms); also BrDaDa (ws). Affinal application: DaSoWi (ws), SiDaSoWi (ms), "Br"Wi.

27 *intamili:* daughter's child (ws); also SiDaCh (ms). Affinal application: DaDaHu (ms), DaSoWi (ms), BrDaDaHu (ws), BrDaSoWi (ws). This term is used self-reciprocally and is quite often replaced by sibling terms (*iwini* or *imbaka*) for distant kin.

Exchange Between Descent Groups

582 614 Consideration of symmetrical versus asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage is but one way of looking at the Tiwi marriage system. Let us now look at marriage as a system of exchange between descent groups and between local groups.

From both the male and female points of view, the preferred marriage is to a member of Ego's father's matrilineal sib. Of all the marriages I recorded in 1954, 66 per cent were to members of the father's matrisib, and there was no significant difference by sex. These figures were substantiated by statements from informants expressing the preference for the exchange of spouses between two sibs. As in some of the kinship terminology, there is no indication here of asymmetry in the system.

Let us examine some of the ethnographic ramifications of sib exchange. Though a girl can be said to marry into her father's sib, it is more correct to view this as a marriage into her mother's father's sib, for it is her actual MoFa who arranges her Type A marriage, and this man is obligated to the men of his sib to help them acquire wives. If Ego's mother has also married correctly, then Ego's father's sib and her mother's father's sib will be the same. However, it is possible that her MoHu may not be a member of the same sib as her MoFa. This might well account for some of the 34 per cent of "incorrect" marriages in my original analysis, which only took account of the father's sib.

614 [842] [775] From the point of view of a male Ego it is also important, but for different reasons, to marry a woman of his father's sib. A man's children come to him first in a dream and are then directed by him to their proper mothers. Unborn children (*pitapitui*) already have matrilineal sib affiliations and thus must be born to mothers of the same sib. Tiwi fathers call this dreaming of children "finding," and, if a man is unable to "find" any children, his deceased father is ex-

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pected to help him. If a man has married a woman in his father's matrisib, then his father and his children will be in the same sib. Since only a dead father can so help his son, we have here an expression of the unity and mutual support of a sib and its members in the previous life and the afterlife as well as in the present life. It is important, I believe, to add here that the Tiwi do not believe in reincarnation.

It is interesting to speculate, on the basis of the above, what happens if a man marries women of different sibs. If his mother has also married men of different sibs, Ego will have "fathers" in different sibs to help him find children for his various wives.

Thus, as far as sib exchange is concerned, the Tiwi marriage system is a symmetrical one. When we consider the entire social system of the Tiwi, we see a tendency toward atomism. There are 22 matrisibs, grouped today into five exogamous phratries. Sib membership in phratries is subject to change (Pilling 1957), and the phratries themselves have segmented twice since Hart's visit in 1929. We consequently cannot consider the phratries as stable units in the social organization, and indeed the Tiwi themselves do not. If all marriages were correctly arranged as exchanges between two sibs, we would have eleven independent and symmetrical marriage systems. When this possibility is considered in relation to the data on Tiwi local organization, the potentialities for further symmetry and atomism are quite evident.

Exchange Between Local Groups

There are ten major land divisions on Melville and Bathurst Islands, called by the Tiwi *tungarima* or "countries." Rights to the land of the *tungarima* are determined, for both males and females, by the location of the grave of one's father, and there is a marked preference for patrilocal residence. The *tungarima* are, in themselves, agamous. They are, however, subdivided into smaller districts, each inhabited either by a single large patrilocal extended family or by a group of closely related smaller households. Since incest regulations dictate that extended families are exogamous, we may consider that in many cases, if not all, the local group will also be exogamous.

Unilateral Type A marriage contracts will therefore involve a minimum of three such households or local groups. But the marriage system might still be symmetrical within the *tungarima* or country organization, and the total effect might be to localize the matrisibs in pairs. Each country could then be considered as comprising an independent marriage system. The *tungarima* do reveal marked political, economic, and ceremonial independence, but at least today the matrisibs are not localized. The mythology on the origin of the sibs (Mountford 1958), however, strongly indicates that they were at one time conceived as being localized, and this would account for the stated existence of local spirit-child centers with sib affiliations

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582 and for Tiwi fathers' statements that they can only "find" children
614 in their own country.

Today, with nonlocalized sibs, both the sib and the local group are
582 considered in the exchange of woman, which is direct with reference
614 to sibs but indirect with reference to local groups. Such exchange
may in some cases involve sibs and countries or *tungarima*, in others
621 sibs and districts or subcountries. I found that approximately 50 per cent of local-group exchanges were between *tungarima* and 50 per cent within the *tungarima*.

582 With local-group exchange and unilateral cross-cousin marriage preferred and predominant, we have an indirect but circular marriage exchange system. We cannot, however, consider the entire society as being involved in a single marriage exchange system. The system is best seen from the point of view of a single male Ego, whose marriages are systematized according to rules which are society wide, but whose actual marriages are determined by past affiliations which can be and often are variable with respect to sib and local-group exchange.

That the Tiwi system is Ego-oriented is most evident when a
554 male Ego dies and his relatives foregather for his funeral ceremonies
571 (Goodale 1959). If such an Ego has lived a full life, he will be affiliated at the time of his death with a number of social groups. He is affili-
764 ated by birth with a matrilineal sib. By his father's death he is affiliated with a local group and a *tungarima*, which may or may not be the same as the group with whom he currently resides; in either case he is affiliated with the latter and will be buried among them. Through marriage, Ego is likewise affiliated with one or more additional sibs and local groups.

Only those persons who belong to the several above-mentioned
601 groups with which the deceased is actually affiliated are expected to
764 honor him by attending his funeral ceremony. When death occurs, these individuals are terminologically reclassified into four cate-
602 gories, from the members of each of which similar behavior is expected. The spouse and spouse's siblings become *ambarui*. Cross-cousins, MoFa, FaMo, BrDaCh (ws), and SiSoCh (ms) all become *yempi*. Siblings and parallel cousins, MoMo, FaFa, BrSoCh (ws), and SiDaCh (ms), regardless of their sib affiliations, are classed together as *pudawi*. All kinsmen in the first ascending and first descending generations are classed as *unandawi*. Since, however, there is a distinct role differentiation between Fa, FaSi, and SoCh (ms), on the one hand, and Mo, MoBr, and SiCh (ms), on the other, I suspect there may be a terminological distinction which escaped me, inasmuch as these "funeral terms," with the exception of *ambarui*, are no longer in use.

Conclusion

582 In this paper I have considered the form and nature of the varying types of contracts that lead to marriage among the Tiwi. I have

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discussed the factor of relative age as a major determinant of unilateral cross-cousin marriage in the particular type of contract which is universal for first marriages among females and is also the preferred contract for males. I have also described several variant patterns of Tiwi marriage contracts and have shown that these cannot be considered as alternatives to the preferred type but rather as additional patterns which apply only to a woman's secondary marriages. These additional types of contracts are also, to some extent, conditioned by the relative ages of the participants, but the resultant form of marriage may vary from a continuance of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage to matrilateral cross-cousin marriage and even to marriage with certain relatives who are not cross-cousins. The wide variation in contracts leading to secondary marriages for women does not affect the continuance of preferred unilateral cross-cousin marriage or the exchange of wives between particular descent and local groups until the second generation after the variant marriage. Consequently, any change in the social organization of the Tiwi brought about by variations in marriage contracts is a gradual change, but it is also an inevitable and accepted form of change. The Tiwi rightly consider that as individuals they have considerable freedom in the selection of mates from almost any descent and local group and even from among a number of categories of kinsmen. Their Ego-oriented marriage system provides both stability and flexibility, and this is reflected in their system of kin classification.

NOTES

1. The field work on which this paper is based was undertaken in 1954 at the Snake Bay Native Settlement on Melville Island and was jointly financed by the National Geographic Society and the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
2. In 1959, I used the relative age of spouses in a preliminary analysis of Tiwi unilateral cross-cousin marriage (Goodale 1959). It was with considerable pleasure that I found that a similar analysis by Rose (1960) had quite independently arrived at the same conclusions. Even more interesting was the fact that in cases where I had to calculate expected ages for many of my kin relations, Rose, with more complete age data, could give the average and range in ages for the same relatives, and that in most cases his "average" and my "estimated" ages were the same or within one or two years of one another.
3. For their valuable comments, criticisms, and advice I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to Robbins Burling, Ward H. Goodenough, Edward B. Harper, Barbara S. Lane, and George P. Murdock.
4. Unfortunately, since the only age data collected in the field were for husbands and wives, I have had to use expected ages rather than average or mean ages throughout most of this paper (see note 2 above).
5. The Tiwi believe that sexual intercourse is the direct and only cause of menarche.

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SNAKE DANCE is among traditional, initiative figures that are performed during ritual preparation of sonic Kulama yams.

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ceived additional instruction in spear-fishing and birding, while girls were taught more intensively to locate and identify edible plants. The children, as a result, were generally independent economically in their early teens, by which time the girls were already married. Young males contributed to their parents' larder and to other households, but did not marry and acquire households until they were more than thirty years old. Even now, this late marriage age obtains in theory, but not always in practice.

[183]

885 THUS, to the Tiwi, economic independence and/or marriage did not alone signify adulthood. The Tiwi adult was intellectually, rather than physiologically, a mature individual who was expected to join actively in the non-economic affairs of the community. An adult was also expected to be almost entirely responsible for his own health, wealth, and future prospects. This included attaining success in hunting and in war and, for the men, in wife-collecting. If an adult became ill or was injured or, as a Tiwi would say, was unlucky in the pursuit of life's benefits, he alone was responsible for not behaving as an adult should.

884 The annual *Kulama* ceremony, held by each community in April at the end of the rainy season, was a most important event to insure individual success. Although a collec-

[P. 11, (c)]
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The couples marry young without any thought for the future. They just marry as, and when, they feel inclined, and the mission fathers provide the new home. Under the palms beside the Strait are many of the queer little iron humpies provided, just a roof, as it were, sloping on each side from the ridge-pole to the ground. The whole can be picked up and moved to a fresh position when fleas become too numerous and the surroundings otherwise unpleasant. These humpies scarcely seem attractive to white folk, but the islanders like them, and they are at least a great improvement on the dog-kennels of old iron that the blacks persist in erecting for themselves on the beach at Darwin.

Proper houses are provided in the Kahlin compound there, but the blacks despise them; and, although the miserable humpies on the beach are demolished from time to time by the authorities, they are all up again by next evening. The good fathers know what the islanders prefer, and they have given the married couples the kind of accommodation in which they feel most happy. The humpies may be hot and stuffy, but they are dry inside when it rains.

The island blacks, in many respects, differ considerably from the tribes of the mainland. They are excessively hirsute, and, on attaining maturity, the men grow long beards, many being of truly patriarchal proportions. The upper lip is kept bare, which practice seems to emphasize the magnificence of the beard. Shocks of hair, sometimes standing six inches high, add to a wildly impressive appearance. They are tall and muscular, and, as they stride along, they seem the very acme of physical development, a living advertisement for the natural, open-air existence. The hairs, by the way, are plucked from the upper lip one by one, and this painful proceeding is undertaken in the calmest manner, certainly with less fuss and facial distortion than the average white man makes during his morning shave.

The use of the woomera for throwing spears, and of the

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